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867 787 If you thus travel in the road of the good people, it will be good and other people will not consider your life a source of amusement.[66]

If you can not obtain a blessing from the spirits try also to have some good plant take pity on you. This I am telling you and if you do not do it, you will suffer for it. All that I am saying will be of great benefit to you if you pay heed to me, for (you will need 867 medicines for) whatever you do in life, if you are not fortunate 789 enough to obtain blessings from the spirits. If you are ever on the 726 warpath, you will need medicine in order to escape being hit or in order to prevent yourself from getting exhausted or from feeling famished. If you manage to be fortunate in all these things you may be certain that the medicines have caused it.

867 My son, help yourself as you go along life's path, for this earth has 577 many narrow passages and you can never tell when you will come to one. If, however, you have something with which to strengthen yourself you will come safely through the passages you meet.

Let every one think you a desirable person to know. Associate with people. If you act in this manner, every one will like you. (You will live) a contented life. Never do anything wrong to your children. Whatever your children ask you to do, do not hesitate to do it for them. If you act thus people will say you are good-natured. If you ever lose a friend by death and if you have riches cover[67] the expenses of the funeral of the deceased. Help the mourners to feed the people at the wake. If you act thus you will be acting well. Then you will be truly a helper of the people and they will know you as such. Indeed, all of them will know you. For the good you do, all will love you.

867 My son, do not become a gambler. You might, it is true, become 525 rich, but in spite of your wealth all your children will die. No gambler ever had children. It is an affair of the bad spirits entirely. Now if you do all that I have told you, you will unquestionably lead a happy and contented life.

867 Thus would the old people speak to a child whom they loved very much, that he might obtain the means of warding off what is not good. Anyone who acted contrary to these teachings would have himself to blame for the consequences.

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[66] This dislike of being made fun of, or of being the laughing stock, plays an important rôle among the Winnebago. It is not at all comparable to the same feeling as found at the present day among civilized people of Western Europe, for it is infinitely deeper and closely associated with social ostracism. The despondency caused by being made fun of, would frequently drive a person away from home or lead him to embark on any undertaking that would bring death. Owing to the social consequences coming in its train, a man would consequently do most anything in his power to ward it off. Correlated with this negative aspect of the use of "fun-poking," there is a positive one. There are certain relatives who have the privilege of making fun of or playing practical jokes on you. This "joking-relationship" exists among many tribes in America, but the relatives between whom it is permitted differ in every case. Among the Winnebago it exists between uncles and nieces and nephews and between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law.

[67] That is, buy the funeral apparel for the deceased.

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867 782 276 Thus he made the tobacco so that humans may ask life with it, and he will grant them their desires. This is all."

CLAN NAMES

TCE HIN'IK'ARAIUERA (BUFFALO CLAN)

614 Moratcega.....He who travels the land.
551 Tcanimaniwinga.....She who walks ahead.
Tceninksiga.....Suckling buffalo calf.
Tcega.....Buffalo.
Tcep'anu"pga.....Two buffalo heads.
Tcetca"iwinga.....First buffalo.
Tcedojoninka"a.....Buffalo yearling.
Tcedoninka"a.....Young buffalo bull.
Tcewinxcdega.....Big female buffalo.
Wirukanaŋga.....He who is in control.
Hehekmaniga?.....Shaggy walker.
Tcehatcowinga.....Buffalo hide blue.
Mangiksuntega.....Shakes the earth by striking
Tcep'aga.....Buffalo head.
Manok'azuhiga.....Kicking up the earth.

THE DEER CLAN

INTRODUCTION

614 173 The first version of the origin myth of the Deer clan is in part like that of version 6 of the Bear clan origin myth and in part like that of version 1 of the Thunderbird origin myth. It is the only myth that shares with version 1 of the Thunderbird origin myth the account of the origin of death.

614 The Deer clan does not seem to have had any important functions, although in myth 1, it is stated that they claimed a "partial" chieftainship, whatever that may mean.

[577] It was considered an insult to tell a member of this clan that he resembled a deer.

[302] The facial painting is the same as that used for the Elk clan. (Pl. 46.)

[326 761] The Deer clan people tell one another not to sing their clan song very loudly, and also not to make any sudden movement of their limbs, for each movement might cause the death of a human being. For the same reason they are told not to weep too loudly, as each deer's limb is a symbol of one of the four directions. When, therefore, a Deer clansman moves a limb too hard when he is weeping over the decease of a member of his clan, he might be "putting some human being in the earth," and the wind would blow hard.

[532] The dog names obtained were *wankcigohoniga* and *na"natcgiga*.

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dances of a lively kind. From that place we went up to where Earthmaker lives and I saw him and talked to him, face to face, even as I am talking to you now. I saw the spirits too and, indeed, I was like one of them.

Thence I came to this earth for the third time and here I am. I am going through the same that I knew before.

Thus my brother-in-law had lived long ago, had joined the Medicine Dance* and adhered strictly to its precepts. He was a good man; he disliked no one; he never stole and never did he fight. He made offerings of tobacco to the spirits and was always giving feasts. He could always be relied upon.

When Thunder Cloud was in spirit land, just before he was to come to this earth, he fasted. He only ate once a month. All the different spirits who live on high, all those who live under the earth, indeed all those whom Earthmaker had created, they all blessed him. Then he came to the earth and was born here as a human being again. When he came to the earth he fasted. All the various spirits who had blessed him before, now blessed him again. Thus did he become a holy man. When he came here, he became a shaman for he was very holy. Indeed he was the North Spirit.

* The Medicine Dance is a secret society which with the preliminary ceremonies lasts five days. Members of this society are supposed to possess the secret of being able to kill one another and then to restore one another to life again. The "killing" is done by "shooting" a shell from a pouch made out of an otter skin. The shell is supposed to enter the body of the person shot at and to render him unconscious. He regains consciousness gradually after spitting out the shell. The ceremony is described in detail on pp. 103 ff. of this autobiography.

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*159 first. "She must be the one I left behind when I came
756 from my spirit home," he thought. So up above, to
Earthmaker's village, he went to see whether his first
*159 wife was still there. He found her there. "How is
756 this? I thought I saw you among the human beings
775 and that is why I have come to see if you were still
787 here," he said. And the woman answering said, "Why,
where was I to go? Here you left me when you went
away and here I have remained up to the present time.
What kind of woman is she who resembles me?
Bring her up here to me." Thus my dead sister spoke.

However since he was a bad shaman, a poisoner, we
[754] let him marry the second sister. We were afraid that
if we didn't he would poison us.

*159 He told my brother that he had come from the place
756 where Earthmaker[9] lives, that Earthmaker had told
[776] him that he was to bring back with him four men.
[787] He was to examine them carefully, for they were to
● [577] be virtuous men, not quick tempered nor of change-
able ideas, but really virtuous, men of conservative
tendencies. Such was he to take back with him.

*159 My brother loved Thunder Cloud for these reasons.
Never did he show any disrespect to him. Whatever he
was asked to do he did. Zealously and painstakingly
did he perform all the actions demanded, for he hoped
that if, in return, our brother-in-law loved him and
blessed him, he would take him back to Earthmaker.
Wholeheartedly did he wish to be like him. This was
always in his mind and he served him to the best of

[776]

[9] Earthmaker is the supreme deity of the Winnebago.

* 159 539 787 796 happen to you. I, myself, am the chief of the Night Spirits. This creation lodge, just as you see it, with all that it contains, I give to you. Never shall you be in want of food. Offer up to us as many buckskins as you see here in the lodge. Thus it shall be. The creation lodge of the village of the Night Spirits I give to you. You can go on as many war-parties as you wish and you will obtain everything that you demand of life. All the offerings of tobacco, of food, [782] of buckskins, and of red feathers, that you and your descendants offer to us, they all will come here to our creation lodge and we will accept them."

Now thus did the Night Spirits speak to grandfather Jobenangiwinxga.

* 159 787 [782] In the morning, just before sunrise, I uttered my cry to the spirits:

"O spirits, here humble in heart I stand beseeching you."

The fourth night found me still there. Again my father came and we did the same thing, but in spite of it all I experienced nothing unusual. Soon another day dawned upon us. That morning I told my elder brother [577] that I had been blessed by the spirits and that I was going home to eat. I was not speaking the truth. I was hungry and I also knew that on the following night we were going to have a feast, and that we would have to utter our cry to the spirits again. I dreaded that. So I went home. When I got there I told my people the story I had told my brother; that I had been blessed and that the spirits had told me to eat. I was not speaking the truth, yet I was given the food that is carefully prepared for those who have been blessed.

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such as the Four Nights' Wake, you are called upon to recount your war exploits in behalf of the departed souls, be careful, however, not to claim more than you actually accomplished. If you do, you will cause the soul of the man in whose behalf you are telling it, to stumble [17] in his journey to spirit land. If you tell a falsehood then and exaggerate, you will die before your time, for the spirits, the war-controllers, will hear you. It is indeed a sacred duty to tell the truth on such an occasion. Tell less than you did. The old men say it is wiser.

My son, it is good to die on the warpath. If you die on the warpath, you will not lose consciousness at death. You will be able to do what you please with your soul and it will always remain in a happy condition. If afterwards you wish to become reincarnated as human being, you may do so, or you may take the form of those-who-walk-upon-the-light, the birds, or the form of any animal you please, in short. All these benefits will you obtain if you die on the warpath.

II

My son, if you cannot obtain war-blessings, fast at least for position in life. If you fast then, when you get married you will get along well. You will then not have to worry about your having children and your life will be a happy one. If you fast and have the spirits bless you with all that concerns the happiness of your home, then throughout life

[17] According to Winnebago belief the soul of a deceased individual in his journey to spirit land must cross a very slippery, swinging bridge and it is thought that if, during the wake following the man's burial, any of the invited warriors exaggerate their achievements the unfortunate soul will not be able to cross this bridge and will stumble and fall into the abyss of fire over which it is thrown.

* 159 867 785 787 you will never be in need of anything. Fast for the food you are to receive. If you fast frequently enough for these things then some day when your children ask for food they will be able to obtain a piece of deer meat without difficulty; they may indeed be able to obtain a piece of moose meat. It lies within your power to prevent your children from ever going hungry.

* 159 867 593 [562] [706] Now again, my son, let me enjoin you. Do not abuse your wife. Women are sacred. If you make your wife suffer, then you will die in a short time. Our grandmother Earth is a woman, and in abusing your wife you are abusing her. Most certainly will you be abusing your grandmother if you act thus. Since after all it is she who is taking care of us, by your action you will be practically killing yourself.

* 159 867 574 When you have your home, see to it that whoever enters your lodge obtain something to eat, no matter how little you yourself may have. Such food will be a source of death to you if withheld. If you are stingy about giving food, some one might kill you in consequence; some one may poison you. If you ever hear of a stranger passing through your country and you want to see him, prepare food for him and have him brought to you. In this manner you will be doing good and it is always good to do good, it is said. [577]

* 159 867 888 If you see a helpless old person, help him if you have anything at all. If you happen to possess a home take him there, and feed him, for he may suddenly make uncomplimentary remarks about you.[18] You will be strengthened thereby. Or perhaps when he comes, he may bring with him under his arms a medicine bundle, something he cher- [908]

[574] [576] [18] It is considered exceedingly bad form for a guest to admire anything in the house he is visiting.

The Teachings of My Father

Search there and you will undoubt-
edly be able to find the medicines necessary for curing your children. Indeed after a while you will be called upon to cure your fellow men. Then you can open your medicine bundle without embarrassment, for you will have the knowledge necessary for treating the sick. You will know where the disease is lodged and your treatment will be successful, for it was only after the greatest efforts on your part that you succeeded in obtaining the requisite blessings. If you declare to the patient that he will live, then he will live. If you make proper offerings to the medicine and speak to your medicine in the proper manner, it will exert all the power it possesses to cure the patient. Now you must make good offerings to these medicines; you must give many feasts in their honor and then if, in addition, you address them as if they were human beings, they assuredly will help you and do what you ask. You may accordingly accept the payments offered to you by your patients in good conscience and your children will wear these payments in the form of wampum necklaces and thus gain renewed strength. They will be well and happy. These are the reasons why I want you to be extremely careful in your attitude. Medicines are good for all purposes; that is why they were given to us. Earthmaker gave them to us so that we could cure ourselves from disease.

If any one tries to obtain these staffs of life, these medicines and inflicts sufferings upon himself in acquiring them, then assuredly will our grandmother Earth have cognizance of it. She knows all that you have lost in obtaining them and in the long run what you have lost, will be returned to you. You made your offerings for the future and it is good for people to look forward to their future.

Say, you wish to obtain the paint medicine. For that you

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The Teachings of My Father

There are medicines to prevent people from getting tired when walking and medicines to cause a dog fight to take place. In short there are medicines for everything.

Every one must take care of himself and try to obtain that knowledge which will enable him to live in comfort and happiness. Try therefore to learn about the things you will need. If you know them, then as you travel along in life, you will not have to go to the expense of buying them from others, but you will have your own medicines. If you act in this way and if, in addition, you fast properly, you will never be caught off guard in life. Should you possess a home, it will look beautiful and you will never be in want. That is why I know you will never regret this that I am telling you. So you shall travel on your journey though life, along the virtuous road taken by all your fellowmen, and your actions and behavior will never become the butt of your neighbor's sarcasm.

Help yourself as you travel along the road of life. The earth has many narrow passages scattered over it. If you have something with which to strengthen yourself, then when you get to these narrow turns you will be able to pass through them safely and your fellow men will respect you. See to it that people like you. Be on friendly terms with every one and then every one will like you. You will be happy and prosperous.

Never do any wrong to your children. Whatever your children ask of you, do it for them. If you act thus people will then say that you are good natured.

If any one in the village loses a friend through death, should you at all be wealthy, cover the expenses of the funeral of the deceased, if you can. Help the mourners likewise in defraying the expenses of feeding the departed. If you act thus, you will do well. All the people you have

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*159 helped will then really know what kind of a man you are.
●511 For the good you do people will love you.
867 It is not good to win at gambling. You may possibly
[525] become rich thereby but that is no life to lead. If you are blessed with luck in cards, if you are blessed with luck at gambling, you will perhaps win things and have plenty of wealth, but none of your children will live.

Now if you do all that I have told you, you will lead a happy and prosperous life. That is why we Winnebago preach to a child we love so that it should never become acquainted with the things that are not right, and never do anything wrong. Then if, in later life, a person does any thing wrong, he will do it with a clear knowledge of the consequences of his actions.

III

*159 My son, when you get married, do not make an idol of
581 the woman you marry; do not worship her. If you worship
867 a woman she will insist upon greater and greater worship as
562 time goes on. This is what the old people used to say.
593 They always preached against those men who hearken too strongly to the words of women; who are the slaves of women. Now it may happen that a man has received many warnings as to his behavior in this regard and that he pays no attention to them. It may go so far that when he is asked to attend a war-bundle feast [30] he will refuse to go; it may be that when he is married he will listen to the voice

[926] [30] The war-bundle feast was the great war ceremony of the Winne-
[996] bago. It was given by all those individuals who possessed a war-
614 bundle and since theoretically there was only one war-bundle in each
[906] clan, the basis of the organization of the ceremony was the clan. The ceremony consisted largely of prayers, songs and speeches in honor of the spirits more definitely associated with war. For each

your wife is the only one to love, you have humbled yourself and she will be taken from you. You have likewise made the woman suffer; you have made her unhappy. The whole world will hear about it. No other woman will want to marry you and you will have the reputation of being a bad man.

Now you may act in the following way: You see people starting on a warpath and you join them knowing that it is an honor to die on the warpath. But you will join them because you feel unhappy at your wife's flight. Now this is not the proper way to act. You are throwing away your life; you are causing the leader of the war-party to throw away a life. If you want to go on the warpath, do not go because your wife has been taken away from you, go because you feel courageous enough to do so.

It is on the warpath that a man has fun! Do not go, however, unless you have fasted adequately. You must fast for each specific warpath. If you do not and yet join a war-party, then in the midst of the fight, a bullet will come your way and kill you. That will happen because you did not fast. If you have performed any deeds of valor, recount them to your sisters and to your sister's children. Those in charge of war-bundles are good to listen to in such matters. Those to whom such people give advice will eat an excellent dish; they will have the honor of sitting near a great warrior in the middle of the lodge.

These are the things of which the old people spoke and this also is the advice I give you. I myself never asked for these things, but my father did. Your grandfather did. He asked for the information relating to the manner in which people are to behave. Never, when you are older, should you allow yourself to get in the predicament of not

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knowing what is the right thing to do. Ask for this instruction, my son. It is not a matter requiring a few moments; it is something that must be thoroughly learned. You, too, must learn it.

To a girl the following was told:

My daughter, as you travel along the path of life, listen to your parents. Do not let your mother work. Attend to the wants of your father. All the work in the house belongs to you. Do not shirk it. Chop wood, pack it; look after the gardens; gather the vegetables and cook them. When you come back to the village in the spring, plant your fields immediately. Never get lazy, for Earthmaker created you to do these things.

My daughter, when you get your menses, do not ask those in the house to give you any food. Fast and do not eat until you get back to the family lodge. If you act thus, you will be fasting for your seat, for your position in life. You can only keep this seat by fasting. Then when you marry, even if your husband has been a good-for-nothing before, he will become a good hunter. You will have accomplished this for him. You will not fail in anything and you will be happy and contented. If, on the contrary, you do not do as I tell you, then when you marry, you will weaken your husband. After a while he will become sickly and it will be your fault.

It is not good to use medicine. If you marry a man and place medicine upon his head, you will weaken him and he will not amount to anything. It may happen that you do not want your husband to leave you and that after reflecting on the matter, you place some medicine on his head, to prevent him from leaving you. This is not good. You

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787 Then he took a piece of my food in his mouth and placed some in my mouth four times. I continued eating as the rest of the feasters began their meal. For quite some time I was not able to eat much.

*159
●597
787 Through it all I was not in the least conscious of any dreams or blessings. All that I was aware of was that all the people around me were taking pity upon me. Throughout it all I had my mind fixed on women. In doing these things I imagined that I had accomplished something great and that I had risen greatly in women's estimation. Even though I tried to render myself pitiable in the sight of the spirits, yet through it all, my thoughts were centered upon them. I was never lowly at heart and never really desired the blessing of the spirits. All that I thought of was that I was a great man and that the women would regard me as a great man.

A Funeral in the Thunderbird Clan

Then the pipe is passed on to all those present. After that the leader drinks a little water and passes this around too. It is only after pipe and water have passed all the way around that the people begin to eat. When the meal is over the attendant takes the pipe and some tobacco and places it before some distinguished warrior who has been invited to the wake. The latter is then asked to speak to the soul of the deceased and tell him the route to take on the journey to the spirit land. This warrior then rises and speaks:

159 * 165 175 539 537

Ho, I greet you all. We are not greeting one another because we are happy as on ordinary occasions but because it is the custom to come together at a wake. Now I shall show the soul of the departed the route he is to take and the care he must observe on his journey. I shall announce to him the ghosts over whom I have control and who are to conduct him safely to his destination. I will not exaggerate [22] when I speak of my war exploits but relate only what really happened to me. It is said that if a person exaggerates and tells falsehoods in recounting his exploits on such an occasion, the soul of the departed will stumble on his journey. I shall therefore only tell the truth and I shall tell the chief of the spirits to guide our dead one safely over all obstacles. Now I am not going to speak of anybody else's exploits but only of my own. Only those over whom I have control will I put at the disposal of our dead one to act as his guide. The spirit-tobacco, the spirit-food, and the fire, these things the ghosts over whom

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[22] For the dangers of exaggeration on such an occasion see note 15. It was also believed to cause the death of the warrior who indulged in it. 7/1

7/1 [The author apparently means note 17. See Category 116, p. 59 -- Analyst]

The Medicine Dance

I, of course, thought that it must indeed be a marvelous thing and I was very happy about it. What I was most eager to see was myself killed and then brought to life again in the lodge, as it was believed happened to the members of the Medicine Dance. I also realized that a member of the Medicine Dance, whether man or woman, was different from a person not belonging to it and I was quite anxious not to be an ordinary person any longer but to be a medicine man.

As soon as we finished building the ceremonial lodge the ceremony began, and the first thing the people did was to sing. Then the leader of the band that was giving the dance arose and delivered a speech:

All those who are sitting here I greet. We are waiting for all of you to have compassion upon us. Nephew,[22] I shall now tell you the road you are to travel. He whom we call nephew, the hare, the founder of the Medicine Dance, obtained this life-ensuring ceremony for us. This is the only life; no other exists. Exert yourself to follow in the road of your ancestors and adhere to the ceremony that represented their mode of life. I know you will hearken to what I say. Assuredly you will listen, for thereby you will help and benefit yourself and, at the same time, attain the good life.

Never do anything wrong. Do not steal. Do not quarrel. If on any occasion you meet a woman on the road, turn to the right, never to the left. No matter who the woman is, do not take liberties with her. This is what the old people taught us and if you perform the rites of this ceremony you will obtain the life that we desire for you.

[22] The person to be initiated is always called nephew.

My Brother Is Murdered

as I pretended for whenever I woke up from a drunken orgy I found myself firmly bound.

All I did was to wander from place to place, from one woman to another. I had four sisters and from them and from my parents did I receive all that I possessed and yet in spite of this, I claimed to be a great man! I then had two women staying with me as my wives. At one time I had as many as four, two at my parents' house and two at certain relatives of mine. I wasn't serious with any one of them. I lied all the time; I was always telling falsehoods. On one occasion I had four children born to me and each one had a different mother. Even after that I continued courting women and drinking.

In the spring there was always work to do. We rolled logs down the stream and drank. I accepted such occupations because I could then always get as much drink as I wanted. Whenever I had any money I spent it on getting some woman drunk.

[P. 135]

§19. *The Effect of a Pretended Blessing*

I was now drinking heavily all the time and I began to boast of being a holy man. I claimed that I had been blessed by certain spirits and I made this claim again and again. Of course this was all a lie, for I had never felt a stirring of any kind within me. I made the claim because I had heard others doing it. Generally I made this claim when I was just about drunk, just on the verge of getting boisterous but still vaguely conscious of what I was saying. Then I would say, for instance, that I had been blessed by a Grizzly-spirit, that he had blessed me with the power of being uncontrollable, that he had taught me certain songs. These I would then sing at the top of my voice. I used to exert all the power I had to imitate a grizzly bear. The bystanders would try to hold me but it always required a large number of men to do so. Now I thought this exhibition of mine an act worthy of praise.

After that I began to claim that I had been blessed by many spirits. I made the claim at one time that I was really the reincarnation of one of the benevolent giant spirits and that my name was *Good-heart*, that I was now living as a human being among men. Such was my claim and people believed me.

Once when I was on one of my drinking sprees I

The Effect of a Pretended Blessing

Once when I was on one of my drinking sprees I visited the lodge of a relative of mine. There I found a woman whom I had the right to call niece and whom I could therefore tease. Just in jest I used to call her "mother" and "sister." Now on this particular occasion after food had been offered me, I began teasing her as usual when one of the women sitting around there said, "My younger brother, your niece is really in a condition to excite your compassion and not to fool with. She is in fact about to face death, for she is going to be confined soon and she generally manages barely to escape death then." "Oh, is that so?" answered I. "Well, elder sister, this time my niece is not going to suffer. Up above, in the heavens, there exist four women, sisters, and these blessed me, telling me that if I ever called upon them for help they would help me. Now to these I shall offer tobacco and when my niece is about to be delivered, she, too, must ask for help." Thus I spoke to her. The woman thanked me. I had told a terrible falsehood. I said all this because I was very hungry and I knew that I would then receive enough to appease my hunger. I had nothing else to say.

Some time after this I saw the women in town. The older woman ran over to me and said, "My younger brother, all is well. Your niece is in wonderful condition; she is very well indeed. She has just given birth to a child and within three days of its birth she was able to chop wood. Never before has such a thing happened to her. It is good. As soon as the annuity payment is made you may have the child's portion for drink.

159* 155 [273] [602] [845] [577] [657]

*159 795 "Say, they certainly talk foolishly." I felt very angry at them. "You will hear them yourself for they are going to have a meeting to-night. Their songs are very strange. They use a small drum," said my father. Then I felt a strong desire to see them.

Finally we reached our home. That night there was to be a peyote meeting. At first I sat outside and listened to them. I grew very fond of them. I was a stranger in their country and the young members of the peyote religion were exceedingly friendly to me. They lent me money occasionally and treated me with tender regard. They did everything that they thought would make me feel good and in consequence I used [577] to speak as though I really liked the ceremony. I was, however, only deceiving them. I only said it because they were so good to me. I thought they acted in this way because the peyote was deceiving them.

Soon after that my parents returned to Wisconsin telling me that they would return in a short time. I was thus left alone with those of my relatives who were peyote followers. That is why they left me there. Whenever I went among the non-peyote people I used [577] to say all sorts of things about the peyote people and when I returned to the peyote people I used to say all sorts of things about the others.

I had a friend who was a peyote man and he said to me, "My friend, I wish very much that you would eat the peyote." Then I answered him, "My friend, I will do it but not until I get accustomed to the people of this country. Then I will do it. What worries me

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

*159 795 When John Rave had finished I ate five peyote. Then my brother-in-law and my sister came and gave themselves up. They asked me to stand there with them. I did not like it, but I did it nevertheless. "Why should I give myself up? I am not in earnest [597] and I intend to stop this as soon as I get back to Wisconsin. I am only doing this because they have given me presents," I thought. "I might as well get up, however, since it doesn't mean anything to me." So I stood up. The leader began to talk and I suddenly began to feel sick. It got worse and worse and finally I lost consciousness. When I came to, I found myself lying on my back. Those with whom I had been standing were still there. As a matter of fact, I had regained consciousness as soon as I fell down. I felt like leaving the place that night but I did not do it. I was quite tired out. "Why have I done this?" I said to myself. "I promised my sister that I would not do it." So I thought and I tried to leave but I couldn't. I suffered intensely. At last day dawned. Now I thought that they regarded me as one who had had a trance and had seen something.

Then we went home and they showed me a passage in the Bible where it said that it was a shame for any man to wear long hair. I looked at the passage. I was [302] not a man learned in books, but I wanted to give the [156] impression that I knew how to read so I told them to cut my hair. I was still wearing it long at the time. After my hair was cut I took out a lot of medicines, many small bundles of them. These and my shorn hair

105 thunderbird. He is the representative of peace, par excellence. He
614 cannot go to war or have anything to do with the many war cere-
616 monies of the tribe. Be it remembered that victory on the warpath is
622 the highest honor a Winnebago can attain. He must succour the needy and plead for clemency in all cases of infractions of tribal law and custom, even in case of murder. His lodge is a sacred asylum and
[178] absolutely inviolate. Not only is a prisoner of war safe if he manages to take refuge there, but even a dog, about to be sacrificed, must be spared, should he manage to run into it. Naturally all the other male members of the thunderbird clan as well as all the male members of the other clans in the upper phratry, go on the warpath and seek prestige through war. But, after all, this warfare is waged against people who have no status within the tribe. Acquiescence in it does not constitute approval of violence nor is it regarded as a resort to violence. And it is this condemnation of violence for which the tribal chief and his phratry stands.

105 In contrast to this is the attitude of the chief of the lower division,
614 who always belongs to the bear clan. In him are centered pre-
616 eminently the police, the disciplinary and the war functions. He and
622 his associates police and guard the village, inflict punishment for
625 transgressions of law and custom, take charge of the whole tribe when it is on a communal warpath or engaged in hunting, etc. It is in the official lodge of the bear chief that prisoners are confined before being killed and it is in the same lodge where the sacred warbundles are stored and guarded against contamination.

105 We are dealing here with a very old and persistent classification
616 of the two opposing forces in society and one which reflects the
622 answer to a question asked repeatedly, namely, how are we to meet
182 the two aspects of life and of reality with which we are being con-
577 tinually confronted, the protective, constructive and positive, and the repelling, destructive and negative? Winnebago thinkers seemed to have been particularly fond of posing this problem.

It is not strange then, that they should have felt the contrast between the functions of the two phratries to lie, fundamentally, in their attitude toward evil. For the tribal chief evil was to be warded off before it came and always by passive methods. If that did not

succeed and evil was already upon the tribe, then his attention was directed toward alleviating the suffering caused by it and toward preventing any violence that might come in its wake. His function was to be protective and constructive. As one Winnebago told me, 'The chief of the tribe is like a motherbird feeding its young ones.'

The chief of the lower division, by contrast, went out to meet evil, attacked it ferociously when encountered, and paid little attention to the violent mood it developed among the defender-assailants. The important thing was to attack, fight and gain the victory.

The two opposing approaches to the problem can best be illustrated by the attitudes of the two chiefs toward sickness and murder. The tribal chief meets the first by giving a feast of conciliation and making direct appeals to Earthmaker. The chief of the lower division, on the other hand, immediately starts in pursuit of it. With his assistants he makes the circuit of the village four times to look for its cause. He is on the warpath and should a dog cross his path, he is immediately killed. Then he pays a visit to the sick people, dances before them and lays his hands upon them.

If a murder has been committed, the tribal chief not only intercedes for the life of the murderer but actually, if need be, offers to take the place of the malefactor. The chief of the lower division, on the other hand, seizes the murderer and conducts him to the family of the murdered person to be punished.

The objects associated with the two chiefs are typical and symbolical of their activities. For the first it is the peace-pipe, the emblem of conciliation and humility; for the second, a curiously formed baton, the emblem of punishment and pain, with which, when need be, he strikes those who transgress.

The recognition of these two aspects of social life and reality, contradictory, colliding, complementary, had its counterpart in the Winnebago analysis of human nature. There too, they insisted, good and evil, the spiritual and the material, the sacred and the profane, seemed forever at strife and forever striving for reconciliation, neutralization or fusion. This philosophy, we shall now see, is reflected, particularly, in mythology, religion and ritualism.

10:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1945
NP12 Winnebago NP12

the last and least qualified of the personages in a myth or tale, become the true hero. Secondly, it is the cardinal ethical principle of the Winnebago that the lowly shall be raised to high estate. That is the reward for humility. Thirdly, a hero or a virtuous man must show a development, must bring about order within himself. We have seen that hold true for Trickster, for Hare and for Earthmaker himself.

In both versions of the Origin Myth, man is projected naked into an atmosphere over which he has no control whatsoever and where he is immediately attacked by evil spirits. This is in flat contradiction with the accounts of his original state in the exoteric myths. There he is almost immediately placed in possession of tobacco, the intermediary between man and the deities, as well as of flint, corn, etc.

If this is not mentioned in the Origin Myth that is because he is not to save himself or receive the wherewithal of life through the accidental benefactions of culture-heroes. On the contrary, he is to be in dire straits and saved. Earthmaker is represented as withholding tobacco from the spirits in order to present it to man and as endowing these same spirits with an overpowering craving for it. In short, it is to be the mechanism for an exchange between man and the deities. He will give them tobacco; they will give him powers to meet life and overcome obstacles. Yet the deities cannot, by themselves, save him. They are at strife with one another. This can only be done by Earthmaker. For this purpose he dispatches the great primordial culture-heroes, Trickster, Bladder, Turtle and Hare to the earth.

This is a completely new role for all three. Naturally they do not succeed. They cannot be saviours. Their antecedents are against them. Trickster is the supreme egoist, the chaotic buffoon hero, a kind of Priapus, without any sense of responsibility and without purpose as far as man is concerned. His most positive contribution is to point out the stupidity, the cupidity, the vanities and foibles of creatures. He cannot help anyone. With man he has never had any connection. Turtle is not much better. He is the embodiment of cowardice, braggadocio and unabashed sensualism. The best he can do is to participate in warfare and, then, never as a hero.

the young faster to overreach and destroy himself. Thus we see along what lines the reinterpretations of the priest-thinker were made.

This was the theory that the priest-thinker tried to impress upon his fellowmen in order to introduce a greater sense of confidence and security in the relationship between man and the deities. Because of the very high demands it made upon the worshipper, it remained largely a philosophical-ethical ideal and the fairly sharp line of demarcation between human beings and the spirits continued in force as the popular theory. Some there were who even insisted that it was, not only the courageous, but the morally justifiable thing to do, to coerce the deities into acquiescing in man's demands. That was the proper way to meet divinity, to challenge the gods, accept what they granted and, then, to attempt to fulfill the conditions imposed even if they meant death. Few individuals in the community, for instance, had greater prestige than the few who had secured a blessing from the much dreaded deity, *Disease-giver*. He had two faces, one dealing life and the other death. No suppliant knew which side would be turned toward him when he made his offerings, at noon, in the full blaze of day, contrary to what held for all the other deities, namely, that they must be approached at night.

This, of course, is the warrior's creed and, in a civilization like that of the Winnebago where the highest ambition as a man was to achieve distinction on the warpath, it naturally was very important. Yet to this, the chief of the tribe might well retort: such courage and such risks have their moral justification only when one is fighting the enemy or avenging the death of a kinsman. They are inapplicable when approaching a god. The taking of great risks concerns not only oneself but the whole community and must be subject to the sanctions of the community. A person must be carefully and properly educated before he dare take them. To exhibit fearlessness and heroic courage is, in itself, no virtue. Indeed, in the wrong place or on the wrong occasion, they can and do lead to death and destruction.

And so, in the realm of religion as in that of social organization and mythology, the problem to be faced is depicted as being the same. How are we to resolve the differences between the 'earth' interpre-